1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

The clans are of basic importance. They are the largest units of solidarity, and open conflict never occurs within them, as it would not between a man's clan and his wife's and mother's clan. It is through his clan that a man establishes his totemic relations and identifies himself with the sacred world by virtue of a mystical experience of his father. The mother is supposed to be spiritually fertilized by the entrance into her uterus of the infant's soul when it has come from the child's father's totemic well. Many ethnologists have insisted that the Australian aborigines have no knowledge of physiological conception. Although I held this opinion during the first part of my field work, I later came to the conclusion that knowledge of procreation is general to the Murngin but is considered of little importance.[4]

The blood feud is forever present and tends to kill a sufficient number of young men to allow the system of polygyny[5] to function. The Murngin have developed a number of well-constructed types of warfare which form dramatic episodes in the several chains of feuds linking the dead generations of the past to those of the living.

The moiety[5] is a still larger unit than the clan, dividing the sixty-odd clans into two groups which intermarry. By the device of the moiety, the whole of the life of the Murngin, as well as nature, is placed in two opposing groups called Yiritja and Dua.

A final important structure in Murngin society is the age-grading[5] institution. It divides, first, the men from the women (see page 131, Age Grading) on the basis of those who are initiated into the mysteries and those who are not, and then redivides the men on an age-graded scale based primarily on the place a man achieves within the rest of his social organization through *rites de passage*.

Within this social configuration the life of each Murngin male goes through an exact cycle. The first life crisis occurs when the Murngin soul, through the father's mystic experience, leaves the totemic well and enters the womb of the mother. By circumcision around the age of six to eight years the individual passes from the social status of a woman to that of a man. When at about the age of eighteen he achieves parenthood and is shown his totems for the first time, he goes to another, higher status; and to a still higher when, at about thirty-five, he sees the high totems. At death he passes through a very elaborate mortuary rite, returns to his totemic well, and the circle is complete. The personality before birth is purely spiritual; it becomes almost completely profane or unspiritual in the earlier period of its

[4] See pages 23-25.
[5] See Glossary of Technical Terms.

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

1. A week or ten days afterward all the men and women who have participated for the first time in the ceremony are painted with red ocher and kangaroo fat, at least twice. The last time a fire is made of ironwood, and green branches are held in it and brushed all over the initiate.

Native Interpretation.—This ritual is to keep the participants from becoming ill and to prevent them from being hurt by any of the animals seen in the Gunabibi dances. The use of red ocher for purification purposes is general. It is one of the recognized mechanisms of the Murngin ritually to prevent or stop sickness. At the end of the Gunabibi the following comment was made in a variety of forms: "After the next rain a man can come out and see a lot of emus and kangaroos and all kinds of animals. He will say, 'My word, we sang him good in that last Gunabibi.'"

THE ULMARK CEREMONY

The Ulmark ceremony is performed in the dry season. It may last a month, a season, or possibly two dry seasons. In rare cases it may be shortened to a few days. The length of time depends on the leader and the old men associated with him.

Like the Djungguan and the Gunabibi, the Ulmark too is an age-grading ceremony. The boy who undergoes its initiation is placed definitely in the men's age grade. The Ulmark is recent in this area and is still being learned by the older men. It is not yet felt to be obligatory for all men to pass through it to attain social adulthood.

Human blood is not used in the Ulmark ceremony. It is the only one of the four major ceremonies belonging to the Wawilak cycle that does not use blood. Kangaroo grease serves more or less the same symbolical function.

New feather strings are made in preparation for the Ulmark, to be used as ornaments in it. The work of collecting the feathers and making the string is supposed to take a month or more and depends on the supply of feathers available and the amount desired by the men for the dance. Four men who later play the rôle of kangaroos gather the feathers from the various camps and take them to the men's ceremonial grounds at the camp where the ceremony is to be held.

The first three sections are largely preliminary. The first two sections take place simultaneously.

I: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

884 A. THE FOUR KANGAROOS RUN AWAY

1. The four kangaroos and the line of men at the boundary line between the men's and the women's camps.
2. The women appear and the kangaroos run away to the men's ground.
3. The men remove all articles of dress and ornament and cut their hair.
4. The men dance individually.

1. When it is decided to hold an Ulmark ceremony, which may or may not be every year—although theoretically it should be—the older men cut down a tall tree, take the top out of it, remove the branches, and carry the log to the ground which forms the dividing line between the men's ceremonial ground and the main camp. Next morning four [615] men, two from the Yiritja moiety and two from the Dua, sit down on the log. The two Yiritja men represent the large gray kangaroo (kai-tjim-bal) and the two Dua men are stone kangaroos (pardi-pardi). All of the initiated men sit down in a line by them.

884 2. An old man goes to the general camp,[10] collects all the women, 535 and brings them to the spot where the log has been placed. The women dance in, single file, carrying yam sticks and singing "Kait-bal kait-bal" The kangaroos run away from them toward the men's ceremonial ground, followed by the other men walking with high steps in slow rhythm. The women follow to the near boundaries of the men's grounds and then dance back, still singing "Kait-bal kait-bal"

884 3. When the kangaroos reach the ceremonial grounds they throw away all their body ornaments and dress, including their armlets, wristlets, and pubic coverings, until they are completely nude. They then cut their hair.

884 4. After the log episode, the men start dancing, morning and evening, with the day given up to any occupations they may have, as 535 during the Gunabibi. A chorus sings and one man dances while the

[10] The grounds of the Ulmark are largely similar to those found in the Djungguan. There is the usual division of the territory into two parts: (1) the general camp where the women dance and which is sometimes referred to as the women's dance ground, and (2) the men's ceremonial ground where in the earlier part of the ceremony a bush house is made for the ceremonial totemic drum, and where two triangular dance grounds are made. In the earlier sections of the ceremony (see Section C, etc.), the triangular dance ground is on the surface of the ground and is formed by heaping up earth to demark its limits. In later sections a triangular dance ground is excavated (see Section G), referred to by the natives sometimes as the dance hole, sometimes as the snake ground, sometimes as the well. A bark house for totemic paintings is also erected on the men's ceremonial grounds.

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

others gather around him. His step is almost a complete reproduction of a modern "buck and wing" jig step. When he has finished he takes his spear-thrower and designates the next dancer by tapping one of the chorus on the shoulder with it. This individual also does a solo dance and then taps another. This continues until all the individuals in the group have danced at least once.

Native Interpretation.—The leader of the Ulmark ceremony told me, "The logs are the backbone of Muit." The men who sit on it are two kaitjimbal (large kangaroos who are Yiritja) and two pardi-pardi (stone kangaroos who are Dua). "They dance because those two old women named them in their dance. The two old women tried to catch these kangaroos but they ran away." The two Yiritja kangaroos are called gur-warn or messengers: "They are all the same as the kakawar [Yiritja snakes] in the Gunabibi."

The women represent the Wawilak women throughout the whole dance. "The women get up and dance around like those two [Wawilak] women did before when the rain fell down. The women carry yam sticks like those two women did. They are trying to stop the rain and to stop Muit from coming out." The words "Kait-bal kait-bal" were supposedly used by the two Creator Sisters in the Liaalaomir clan country.

The men take off their ornaments and "clothing" and cut their hair "so that they will go very poor and skinny and look like a man gets when there is a long wet and little food. They are all the same as waiting for the dry season to come." These acts symbolize the effect of ceremonial uncleanliness on nature and man.

Concerning the solo dance, I was told: "They dance this way because those two women did that and when one sister finished dancing, she hit the other sister with a spear-thrower and this one started dancing."

B. The Ceremonial Drum, Uvar (the Great Python) Is Made

1. A large hollow log is formed into a drum and beaten with a pandanus stump.

1. During the progress of Section A several men, including the leader or his younger brother, go into the surrounding bush and select a hollow tree, cut it down, clean it out, and remove the outer bark. The log is recut to a four- or five-foot length and carried to a small bush house that has been made for it on the men's ground. Here it is painted with snake figures, emus, and other animals, as well as plants.

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

884 534 A small pandanus palm stump is trimmed to a convenient size for a beating stick. As soon as the totemic drum is made, it is carried under a man's arm and struck with the pandanus palm stick. The women reply from the main camp with "Kait-ba! kait-ba!" This is symbolic of the beginning of an Ulmark, as the sounding of the bull roarer is of the Gunabibi.

884 713 *Native Interpretation.*—The sound of the drums is the voice of Muit, and "the women answer the same way as for Mandelprindi [in the Gunabibi] only they say 'Kait-ba! kait-ba!' [instead of making high trilling sounds]."—"The women calling out 'Kait-ba! kait-ba!' is what they said in trying to dance and keep Muit back."

C. The Kangaroo Messengers:

884 1. They visit other groups to invite them. They have two kangaroo tail emblems with them.

2. The triangular dance ground is made; the behavior of the visitors who arrive.

884 202 1. For several weeks the men continue dancing the "buck and wing" jig step while the women gather palm nuts and put them in water to soak out the poison. Meanwhile a few of the men make two small emblems. One is supposed to be the tail of the large gray kangaroo, the other the tail of the stone kangaroo.

The kangaroos are then sent away to the surrounding clans to invite them to the ceremony. When they approach a camp they cut a large club-like stick and beat it against a hollow tree. The camp people hear it and realize that Ulmark messengers have arrived to invite them to its ritual. A man from the camp goes out to meet the messengers, who say, "We have two kangaroo tails here, one Dua, one Yiritja. We have all the food ready. You must come."

884 2. While the messengers are away the men in the camp make a triangular dance ground which is the same in structure, material, and form as the Djungguan dance ground. When the visitors—men, women [302] and children—approach the camp of the clan that is giving the ceremony they paint themselves with red ocher. They sing the Kait-ba, [533] kait-ba refrain until they arrive in the main camp. Visitors who arrive early and who have been initiated into the Ulmark are conducted by the old local men to the men's dance ground, where they 884 start dancing the characteristic jig step of the Ulmark.

533 All neophytes are supposed to remain on the ceremonial grounds

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

and not go to the main camp until the Ulmark ceremony is over. They do not dance. The women stay in the women's camp. The women form themselves into groups according to their clan, and dance and sing, "Kait-ba! kait-ba!"

The men, also grouped according to clan, sing:

(1) The honeybee (Yer-pain) of the Dua moiety
(2) Small stone kangaroo (pardi-pardi)
(3) A grub found in rotten wood floating on lakes and rivers (Ka-mer-ung)
(4) A grub found in the trunk of the pandanus tree
(5) An acacia tree grub (Bar-ler-wir-lar)
(6) A grub found in the roots of the lake grass (I-nur-i)
(7) A grub found in the lily bulbs

At the end of each song cycle a call is made that is the same as the chorus refrain of the Djungguan ceremony.

Native Interpretation.—"When they [the messengers] hit the tree it is like when those two women were walking and saw honeybees' nest and cut down the tree,"—i.e., the tree that is beaten by the messengers is hollow, as was the tree which the old women cut down. The hollow tree is also beaten as a substitute for the hollow log drum.

The triangular dance ground is "all the same as the Djungguan." It is called barn-ga-ga and means python's body. "The women dancing are the two Wawilak sisters." The songs that the men sing when they are divided into groups are "every kind of animal that the two women saw on their way down to Mirrirmina." These songs are to stop Muit and were sung by the two Wawilak women.

D. The Torres Straits Pigeon and Uvar

1. The pigeon emblem is placed twice within the drum on the triangular dance ground.

1. After the completion of the dance ground, the leader announces that the Torres Straits pigeon dance will be performed. The man who dances this dance has red ocher on his face, a white head band, dots on his body, and a red ocher surfacing from the knees to the elbows. A man brings the ceremonial drum, Uvar, and lays it down at the large end of the triangular dance ground. A small light stick is painted, and feathers are tied to one end to represent the pigeon.

The dancer lies down on the ground beside the "pigeon," crying out, "Wah! Wah!!" He picks up the pigeon, arises, and dances a short

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

distance toward the triangular ceremonial ground and sits down again. While he does this the male chorus sings out the refrain of the Ulmark. The leader also calls out the taboo names of this variety of pigeon. The dancer rises and, when he reaches the ceremonial drum, thrusts the bird emblem into the tail end of the drum as far as his arm will reach. He then dances around to the other end of the drum and pulls the pigeon out at that end. He dances up to the head of the dance ground, returns to the drum and once more pushes the pigeon emblem into the drum, this time at the head end, and pulls it out on the opposite side. The Straits Pigeon dance is repeated for several days, and occasionally weeks, before it is abandoned for the next part of the Ulmark sequence.

Native Interpretation.—(1) This means "Wongar snake came out of his well and ate this Wongar pigeon all the same as the rock python snake today. He ate this pigeon before he ate those two women."

E. The Stone Spear-head Dance

1. Parrot-feather string is brought out of the men's baskets and is placed over the ironwood stakes.

1. When the pigeon dance is over, the four kangaroo messengers, who have kept their new parrot-feather ceremonial string ornament hidden in their personal baskets until this time, bring it out and wrap it around two small slabs of ironwood which are supposed to be stone spear heads and are inserted into spear shafts. The four men then stand in a line, one behind the other; the first and the last carry the spear emblems in the crook of their elbows. They dance up to the tail of the snake ground and then across it to the head where the chorus stands, hesitate, and then go back to the tail again. This is repeated a number of times while the chorus sings out the Ulmark refrain and the leader calls out the taboo names of stone spear heads. None of the youths being initiated is allowed to see this section of the Ulmark, which is called by the taboo name of the stone spear head (Mar-ul-pul).

Native Interpretation.—The ironwood stakes symbolize stone spear heads and are also associated with women, who use ironwood stakes as digging sticks. The two sisters were carrying the spear heads in their baskets. They "walked around their camp at the time of the rain with a stone spear looking for the snake to hit and stop him. The two women walked in a line."—"That small sister said, 'What will we do with this one [the head of the spear in her basket]?' The older sister said, 'Take

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

it out and put it away.' The dance was after the women came to Mirrirmina. The blood has come. Those animals run away, and the rain and the thunder and the lightning have started. They dance these things to stop them." 884 773 535

F. The Headdress Dance

1. A dance sequence consisting chiefly of tree-grub dances is performed. 884 535

1. The next dance is the feather headdress ritual (kurt kurt). The men sit down in a line on the men's dance ground. The first man has a feathered headdress in his hand, the next has none, the third has one, and so on. The men rise and go repeatedly through the same movements as in the last dance: up to the tail of the snake, across to the head, hesitate, and back to the tail again.

The dances of Section C are repeated a number of times, always using the above movements.—When a cycle of dances is repeated, the *general* order is always the same, e.g., bees, kangaroos, grubs; but the order in which several grubs, e.g., are danced may vary.

Native Interpretation.—"The totemic name of the headdresses is darl-poing-ngo and its inside meaning is the Dar-pa snake." 884 535

Grubs are either classed as snakes or are closely associated with them. "Those women danced all these things to stop the rain. The grubs are the things they danced." 773

At about this time in the progress of the Ulmark all the men change baskets and fire drills, which temporarily ends the ceremony. All the participants now go to their own clan's country or remain as visitors until the ceremony starts again. Sometimes the preliminary portion of the Ulmark is extended through the whole dry season and the final part left until the following dry season, but ordinarily the complete performance is gone through at one season. If the ceremony is to last two seasons, the various participants repeat the dance sequences at their own clans throughout the rainy season, although because of the inclement weather and the difficulty of obtaining food, the dancing is not daily but only at intervals. 884 535

G. Certain Ritual Paraphernalia Are Constructed 884

1. Kangaroo-tail emblems are constructed.
2. The sunken triangular dance ground is dug.
3. The women's dance ground is prepared.
4. A winding path is placed around the men's ground.

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

884 5. Snail shell rattles are manufactured.

6. A bark house is constructed and is painted with ceremonial designs.

1. While the group of headdress dances of Section F dances is being performed, two emblems are under construction. They are large representations of the Dua kangaroo and Yiritja kangaroo tails. The smaller [211] emblems previously mentioned function as message sticks for the kangaroos who announce the ceremony to the other tribes; these larger ones are used as emblems in the ceremony. They are brought out by the dancers who jump over each other. Yiritja jump over the Dua and Dua over the Yiritja in the same manner as our children play leap frog.

2. If the ceremony is to last two years the snake dance ground is not excavated, since it forms a part of what is considered the final portion of the Ulmark. If it is decided to complete the ceremony in one season, the Yiritja and Dua kangaroo messengers dig the dance place to a depth of a man's shoulder. It is in the center of the dance ground and well protected by heavy clumps of jungle growth. It has the same triangular shape as the snake ground in Section D and the one found in the Djungguan ceremony (which is not dug but is on the surface of the ground); but in addition it has a pathway dug to one side of the triangle. It is the python snake's body. It is supposed to face the southeast both in this ceremony and in the Djungguan. Bushes are piled in it at the head of the ground.

3. The women's dance ground is only a cleared space in the center of the general camp.

4. While the men are digging the triangular snake ground, the women, of both home and visiting clans, clear a small path which encircles the whole of the men's ceremonial grounds. (It winds and twists like the track left by a huge python.)

5. After the excavating has ceased, the men gather dry snail shells. [337 534] These are painted with red ocher on which is dotted white clay. A half dozen of these shells are strung on one string and tied to a spear-thrower. Several of these snail-shell rattles are made.

6. A bark house is also built on the ceremonial grounds. The house [342 531] is the same in structure as those used in the rainy season. The interior walls are painted with realistic and geometric figures (which illustrate the story of the two Wawilak sisters).

884 713 *Native Interpretation.*—The triangular and the women's dance ground are identical with the Djungguan dance places and are looked

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

upon as the same by the natives. "Those bushes are put around a hole just the same as in the Djungguan. The two camps [dance grounds] are just the same as in the Djungguan."—"The tail [of the triangular dance ground] goes out by the women's camp. This means he has already swallowed those two women." (In the Djungguan the triangular ground also represents the snake after he has swallowed the two women. See page 273.) "The bushes are the two women who have been spewed out by the snake. They are [also] an ant bed on the ground where that snake first fell down at Mirrirmina."

When the women dance in their camp dance ground they are those two Wawilak sisters. The winding path which is made around the men's ground, and which of course surrounds the triangular dance ground as well as the bark house, is supposed to be the track of Muit when he was surrounding the two women; and the triangular dance ground always faces southeast because "that rock place at Mirrirmina looks that way."

When the snail-shell rattles appear it means that "the two women made this at Mirrirmina, and it was to show they were tired and near the finish of the dance." The snail-shell rattle is symbolical of marl-[illegible]-pin (snail) itself. Its "inside meaning" is the garna, an ordinary wooden spear used by the women to stick in holes when looking for snails.

The bark house is that made by the two women when they tried to avoid the rain and being swallowed by the snake. There is supposedly a depression in the rocks and ground at Mirrirmina where the women had their house in which they put all their ritual properties during the rain. The two women left in it their hair belts and opossum string, and all the tools, weapons, and implements used by modern Murngin men. They were left for and found by the Wawilak men.

H. The Snail-shell Rattle Dance

1. The men dance with the snail-shell rattles on the boundary of the men's and women's grounds. The women give them gifts of "clothing."

1. The spear-throwers with the snail-shell rattles attached are brought out toward the main camp by the men. All of the male members enter the camp except the messengers, who remain in the ceremonial grounds. As they approach, the men sing and dance Flood Water. They meet the women who have marched out from their own camp and stopped on the ground intermediate to the camps. The women have gathered from

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

all the women of their camp, pubic coverings, head circlets, and all other articles of adornment and clothing as presents for the men.

The line of men singing and dancing Flood Water call out "Wah! Wah!" as they dance, and are answered by the women with the usual cry of "Kait-ba! kait-ba!" The men's arms are covered with leaves, the women are not painted or decorated. When the men are facing the women and only a few feet away, they stick the spear-throwers with the snail-shell rattles into the ground. The women dance up to them, the old men accept the presents of clothing from them and tell them to start gathering palm food for the guests coming to the last part of the Ulmark. The men then return to their own grounds. The old men put the women's presents in the snake house.

Native Interpretation.—"Snail is just the same as snake," and also, the snail was among the animals who ran away from the women. (See interpretation for Section K, page 323.)

I. The Messengers Leave Again

1. The messengers announce the Ulmark again. Many of the earlier sections are redanced while they are away. The initiates are treated severely. Other dances are introduced.

1. Messengers are sent out to announce the final events of the Ulmark. While they are gone, first the usual cycle, from the Torres Straits pigeon through the various grub dances, is danced in the excavated snake ground. The men also dance the jig steps of the two old women, the old men sometimes holding firebrands in their hands like penises. They shake them in the faces of the neophytes to frighten them and to amuse the initiated. The old men always appear to be extremely angry with the boys who are under initiation.

Then the clowns paint themselves to represent centipedes. They also dance the kangaroo leap-frog sequence and the line of men with spears in their arms. The little boys who are being initiated are forced to stay awake and watch this performance. The men swear at them unless they give complete attention to the ceremony. These last dances, which are not part of the cycle, are done not in the snake hole (excavated triangular dance ground) but some little distance away on the first triangular dance ground constructed earlier in the ceremony (Section D). They also dance a large flying insect (Di-kar) that comes just before the rain time, followed by a black butterfly (Burn-ba) dance, and a red butterfly dance.

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

Native Interpretation.—According to the natives' statements, the symbolization here is the same as in Section C when the kangaroo messengers leave the first time. 884

J. The Grub Dance Sequence

1. Several varieties of grubs are danced, as well as honeybees and other species. 884 535

(1) The acacia tree grub (Bar-ler-wir-lar); a headdress made of the sulphur-crested cockatoo is worn for this dance. [292]
(2) A grub found in the ant beds (Gu-lung-a). Two men sit with their backs together, bend their torsos forward so that the head is as near the ground as possible, and then swing the body from left to right and back again.
(3) The lake and river floating-wood grub.
(4) Plain's grass grub. The bodies of the dancers are covered with small circular dots made by dipping the end of a bamboo rod into white paint and pressing it against the skin. [302]
(5) The lily grub.
(6) Small kangaroo (pardi-pardi).
(7) The Dua honeybee's honey found in a dead tree.
(8) The Dua bee's honey found in a green tree.
(9) The tiger snake (Dar-pa).
(10) The sulphur-crested cockatoo headdress (Kurt Kurt).
(11) The two Yiritja and two Dua kangaroos. The four sit down and the chorus surrounds them. The leader sings out the taboo names of the kangaroo. The chorus represents bushes and trees.

Native Interpretation.—The things sung in this all-inclusive list of songs are "the things the two women named and saw on their way."

K. The Settlement of Old Feuds

1. Old feuds are settled and a clown helps prevent open fighting and the destruction of the ritual. The ki-djin "language" is taught, and there is a repetition of earlier sections of the Ulmark. 884
2. The initiates are placed in a line, one behind the other.
3. Two lines of men throw the snail-shell rattles to each other.
4. A line of men and one of women on the boundary line of the male and female camps throw the snail rattles back and forth.
1. The above sequence of dances takes a month or six weeks to per-

1; Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

884 form. When the moon is about quarter full in the west the messengers return. Everyone becomes very quiet; that peculiar type of quietness reigns in which one almost feels there is trouble brewing within a Murngin camp.—Then the people who have had trouble during the last year, or even prior to that time, begin to quarrel and fight. They are always of different clans, never members of the same group. When fights start, the leaders stop them. The people who have been keeping [198] the Ulmark stand by, spears in hand, and talk the ki-djin "language" to them; some sing it. The "language" is a kind of native pidgin which includes words from the Mullikan, Djuan, and other native languages from the south.

884 A man noted for his clownish abilities takes his spear and spear-
522 thrower from his personal basket, eats his food in an absurd manner, and generally acts the fool while he talks the kidjin language. Everyone laughs at this performance. If one of the quarreling men turns on the clown, the latter points a spear at him and pretends to spear him. The general loud laughter from everyone keeps the angry one from committing any overt act; and since the clown and his audience express no hostility, the offended man cannot cause trouble. It is clear that this clowning is a method of preventing feuds from breaking out during the ceremony.

884 The Torres Straits pigeon is danced again and the pigeon pulled
535 through the drum as before. The spear is danced again, and the entire remaining sequence of Ulmark dances repeated; the snail shells are [302] placed on the spear-throwers as before, and all the men paint their bodies and upper arms and legs with red ocher and kangaroo grease.

884 2. The initiates lie down in two lines. The four messengers sing near
533 the general camp, but low enough so that the women cannot hear them. They sing in the kidjin language. Then they sing louder, and the women answer with the refrain: "Kait-bal kait-bal"

3. On the men's ground two lines of dancers throw the snail rattles back and forth. They, too, sing the refrain of the women. After this all go to the general camp singing the kait-ba song. They take the marl-pin-pin with them. When they get on the ground near the general camp they change the refrain to a kind of low humming noise, "m-u-mmmmmmmmm."

884 4. The women meanwhile have come out to the intermediate ground and stand in a line, and the men approach and form themselves into a line opposite them. The men from one clan throw a snail-shell rattle to the women belonging to the same clan. They throw the

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

marl-pin-pin back again. When it has gone back and forth and everyone has thrown the marlpinpin, the women finally keep it. The men now dance while singing "Kait-bal kait-bal" and return to the men's ground, the women following until they reach the edge of the taboo ground. The men go inside and the women return to their camp.

Native Interpretation.—"The kidjin language means talk used by the two old women when they looked up into the sky and tried to stop the rain and Muit." (It is also used in fighting and hunting; a man looks at his spear and tells it to go straight. See also story of Emu and Jabiru, Appendix VIII, page 543.)

"Those two women are singing to stop Muit all night and to stop the raining. The young men lie down the way the children of the two women did." When the boys lie down in two lines, "They are the two women. This is how they did it before."

"When the men come toward the general camp they dance the two Wawilak women at first." That is why the line of men sing Kait-bal kait-bal, for this is the cry of the two women. When they change and make the humming sound, "This is Muit coming for the two women. That is why the camp women are singing 'Kait-bal kait-bal' now."

The men and women throw the marlpinpin at each other "because the two women did. They did it because they knew lots of rain was coming. Snail is just the same as snake. He comes out just before the rainy season. That snail ran when the women had that blood."

L. The Fire Dance with Spears and Yams

1. A bark cylinder is made with spears at one end and yams at the other. The cylinder is fired and the men dance in the flames.

1. The men sing all night long. The old sequence of Ulmark songs and dances is followed through in one night. Songs are also sung by the chorus in which all the things the women saw and named on their march to the sea are enumerated.

Two men leave the group and paint a bush yam with red ocher. The same men roll up pieces of paper bark into a long cylinder about one foot in diameter and about twenty feet long. Several spears are tied together and also wrapped in paper bark. It is near daylight by this time. A fire is built and the bark cylinder is placed with one end near it. At the opposite end of the bark cylinder the wrapped spears are placed. Two men sit at the fire end of the paper bark where the yam has been placed. A line of men sits down on the spears and on the paper-bark cylinder. The paper bark is lit and the men get up and

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

884 535 dance over it. Dancing the Ulmark jig step, the men break up the unburned bark and feed it to the fire. Each man dances till he feels the hair burn on his legs and it is too hot for him to continue. The bark is taken off the spears and also burned.

884 535 773 *Native Interpretation.*—The bark cylinder is the snake and the men sitting in a line on it are Muit too. The bark fire is also the snake. The burning of the paper bark is Muit disappearing. The men dance over the fires "so that they must burn their legs so that they can eat any animal." They are the two Wawilak sisters when they dance this. They are "Wawilăk and unclean."

M. The Frill-neck Lizard Dance

884 535 1. Two men dance frill-neck lizard in a tree and jump into a fire.

1. This same morning the frill-neck, "big-eared" lizard is danced for the first time. It is used as a symbol to announce the end of a phase of the ceremony, just as the appearance of the blue-tongued lizard was in the Gunabibi. Two men dance it. They climb up a tree and hold on with their knees while waving their arms. A fire is lit beneath them. The two lizards jump on it and then run away.

[773] *Native Interpretation.*—"When the lizards jump in the fire they are running into Mirrirmina away from the two women."

N. Flying-Fox Dance and Snake Dance

1. Two lines of flying foxes surround seated figures of kangaroos, tiger snakes, and gray kangaroos. The men enter the triangular dance ground.
2. The dance of the snakes and small kangaroos in the sunken dance ground.

1. They next dance flying foxes. The flying foxes file in to the dance ground from the bush in two long lines. On the triangular dance ground eight men sit two by two with their backs to each other. They represent black kangaroo, gray kangaroo, and darpas (tiger snakes). The two lines of flying foxes encircle each pair of sitting dancers.

2. The sitting dancers inside the circles of flying foxes shake their shoulders and fling their bodies back and forth as did the grubs in the Ulmark dance described on page 321. The kangaroos and snakes take out their feather headdresses from their baskets and place them on their heads.

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

The initiates are not allowed to see the rest of this part (N) of the Ulmark. All the older men get up and run to the path that has been excavated in the snake ground; they run inside the path and into the hole.

Native Interpretation.—"Two men [the pairs of sitting men] go straight inside the hole we dig for them. That means that the snake has swallowed the two women and is going down the hole."

O. The Ceremonial Camp Is Encircled by Fire

1. The men dance through the fire to the women's ground. They ceremonially wash and put on new raiment.

1. Two men paint themselves as darpa (tiger) snakes (Ma-ring-o in the Wangurri tongue, and U-var-ko in the Garl-ba-nuk dialect). One man paints himself to represent the small kangaroo (pardi-pardi). The two snakes squat down at the head end of the triangular excavated snake ground. The kangaroos sit down at the tail end, surrounded by the chorus. Lines of bushes are put on each side of the snakes. The kangaroos dance first. The chorus uses the swinging motion of the trunk described on page 321, and sings the taboo names of the kangaroo. After the snakes have danced, the men leave the ceremonial grounds and return to the women's camp. When the snake and kangaroo episode occurs, the neophytes are shown the excavation and instructed in the mythology for the first time.

The women now make a fire that follows the path made by them earlier in the Ulmark (see Section G 4), which completely surrounds the men's ceremonial camp. The fire moves in toward the men. The women return to their own camp. The men paint themselves and all their possessions with red ocher. They shave and cut their hair to give themselves a "new" appearance. The women in camp also paint themselves and all their possessions, also to make them look "new." The men come out of their ceremonial ground and through the fire to the main camp. They dance out into the water and wash themselves, as do the women. When the men and women come back, they take kangaroo grease and red ocher and paint themselves. They put on a new white headband, freshly painted arm bands, a new hair belt, and a new pubic covering.

Native Interpretation.—"That fire is all the same as the two women made to cook the animals that ran away. [It is also the snake, and the snake's tongue.] The path is Muit."

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

884 All the men and women bathe themselves and wash their belongings "to make them all the same as new people and clean people." The men wash to "clean" themselves, and put on grease and ocher and new raiment to make themselves "new and clean."

P. THE FORKED-POLE DANCE

1. Pardi-pardi runs and climbs a tree.
2. A forked pole is erected and two women climb it and jump into the arms of the men's chorus.

1. On the intermediate ground near the women's camp the small kangaroo, pardi-pardi, climbs a tree. The chorus surrounds him, dancing and calling out the cry of the two Creator Sisters.

2. While the men were dancing tiger snake and kangaroo, a large forked pole was placed in the ground. It is much the same as that used in the Gunabibi, except that here only one forked pole is used. The women, under the guidance of an old man, are collected around this pole. Two of the older women climb up and sit in the forked branches. The men leave the ceremonial grounds and surround the stick and the women. They roar like thunder. The two women jump from the forked stick into the chorus of men, singing "Kait-ba! kait-ba!" The men roar again. Two men get up into the forked pole and jump down into the chorus and the entire group of men then returns to the men's ceremonial grounds.

884 113 *Native Interpretation.*—"When pardi-pardi ran up the tree and then away, he was running away from those two women. They tried to catch him."—"That forked stick is just the same as the house of the two Wawilak women. When the two men get up in the forked stick that is like Muit's head in the sky, and the [chorus of] dancing men below is Muit's body around the house."

"When the two women jump down and dance around singing Kait-ba! kait-ba! they are fighting with the snake and it means they have been swallowed and taken below the ground. The men [chorus] roar like a snake [thunder]."

884 Q. THE SPEAR-THROWER FEATHER-HEADPIECE DANCE

1. The spear heads are rubbed with honey and red ocher. A line of dancers is formed at the excavated grounds; they hold, one a spear, the next a feather headdress, et cetera, in their hands.

1. This element of the Ulmark is performed at the ceremonial excavated ground. The men paint their spear-throwers with red ocher.

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

Honey is rubbed over the central part and the two ends are dotted with white paint. The chorus sits down in the path that leads into the excavated dance ground. The first man holds a spear-thrower, the next a feather headdress, and the next a spear-thrower, etc. The spear-thrower and the feather headdress are taboo and like totemic emblems. The initiates are not allowed to see them. The men sing under the direction of the ceremonial leader the taboo names of the two objects.

Native Interpretation.—The men in the path "are the two women. They dance this to stop rain because this was right inside [very sacred and high in the totemic mysteries]. They couldn't stop because Muit wouldn't stop. The kurt-kurts [feather headdresses] are darpa snakes."

R. The Flying Fox and Kangaroo Dance

1. The kangaroos sit by the excavated triangular dance ground with lines of fire on each side of them.
2. The flying foxes enter and go into the hole.
3. The messengers appear.

1. Following the episode above, two lines of gray kangaroos (kai-tjim-bal) are formed, one on each side of the triangular dance hole. Three groups of men sit inside with their ceremonial feather headdresses on. A line of fire is placed on each side of the dance hole.

The kangaroos hop over the fire while they dance around the hole.

2. After this the group sing evening and morning star, the sun, moon, stars, and milky way. When daylight is near, everyone picks up a firebrand. Several lines of flying-fox dancers gather out in the surrounding bush. They cry out like flying foxes. They run by one another a number of times, then enter the ceremonial hole and surround each group of men there. The leader of the ceremony calls out the taboo name of the headdresses. The seated men exchange headdresses.

3. Soon after dawn messengers walk into the ceremonial camp. They are painted as Dua honeybee, darpa snake, and small kangaroo.

Native Interpretation.—When the kangaroos leap over the triangular well "they are swallowed by the snake." The men sitting in the well with kurt-kurts (feather headdresses) are darpa snakes. When the flying-fox dancers go into the triangular well the neophytes are made young men. "The messengers are Bapa Indi who swallowed the two women, and the other men are rain."

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

884 S. The Forked-pole Dance Is Repeated

1. In the camp several old men have made three or four stone fires as if they were going to cook kangaroo. The women dance out from [535] the general camp to the forked pole where the two women climb it as earlier in the ceremony. The men come out of the ceremonial ground and surround the women on the pole. They roar like the thunder. The women jump on the ground into the chorus of men, and the two men climb up on the pole and then jump on the ground. A chorus of women dances outside the group of men.

Native Interpretation.—The natives' interpretation is the same as for the first performance of the dance (Section P, page 326).

884 T. The Stone Fire and Snake Dance
783

1. The old men build a stone fire and the men inhale the smoke and squat over the fire in order to allow the smoke to enter their anuses.

1. All the men go to the general camp and divide into groups around the various stone fires the old men have made. The women dance around them. All the men hold their heads over the fires and inhale the smoke and heat. They also squat over the fire to allow the smoke to enter the anal opening. Men, women, and young boys then [302] paint themselves with red ocher and kangaroo grease.

884 *Native Interpretation.*—When the men inhale the smoke, "this
713 means so we can eat any kind of food." When they put their anuses
783 over the fire, "This is like the Wawilak women did when that baby was born." The women go through this same healing and purificatory rite today. The whole fire ceremony "means just the same as the place in the Gunabibi [Section I] when men go along the ridgepole and get food handed to them."

U. The Palm Nut Bread Is Eaten

884 1. The bread is divided and eaten by the men. The ironwood-leaf
783 purification is held and the neophytes are steamed.

1. Several days later, possibly a week or more, the women bake a large palm nut loaf. The ceremonial bread is divided and eaten by all the men who participated in the ceremony. Another big stone fire is made. New body ornaments are placed on each man, and green bushes are held in the hands of each mature male to symbolize the trees that surround their ceremonial ground. The men dance around

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

the stone fire, and the women around them. Ironwood leaves (maipin) are put in the fire and a smoking branch is brushed over all the males and females who have been in the ceremony. To make a heavy steam, wet grass is put on the fire and the neophytes placed over it so that both mouth and anus are supposedly filled with purifying steam. This is to allow the young men to eat the large game which up to this time has been taboo to them.

Native Interpretation.—All the informants insisted that the interpretation of the steaming of the initiates is the same as in the Djunggguan (Section H). The eating of the bread is a general symbol of communion which will be treated later.

General Summary of the Sections of the Ulmark

The ritual dances of the Ulmark ceremony divide themselves into two main groups of symbols: (1) the food animals' running away from the two women, and (2) the snake's swallowing the women and animals.

THE MARNDIELLA CEREMONY

A. Preparations

1. The fathers are consulted. The boys are decorated.

1. The Marndiella is used as a circumcision rite and belongs to the Wawilak group. It is usually held when it is felt that certain boys are too large to be allowed to remain uncircumcised for another year and when the time is short and the wet season is at hand. In other words, it is used when the Djunggguan ceremony is considered too long for the time at their command. It is the shortest of the four general tribal ceremonies centered around the Wawilak. The Marndiella never comes first by preference and is only used as an expedient. However, at times the Marndiella is prolonged, principally because of the Murngin's keen pleasure in all ceremonies and because it is felt to be not quite fitting to rush a ceremony through in so short a time.

The ceremony starts the afternoon before the circumcision is to take place. The leader in this ritual, as in all the others, is a clan ceremonial director. He confers with the fathers of the boys to gain their permission, or to set a time for the circumcision when the fathers have requested him to make their boys young men. On the afternoon of the day chosen to start the ceremony the boys are taken to the

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

yolno and mielk went to swim in the sea and made themselves clean and they cut out that wrong. That's why we dance the same way now to cut out that wrong."

The thinking here shows that both the Yiritja and the Dua use the same symbols, but the Dua identify the white paint with uncleanliness and the Yiritja identify it with foam.

I. The Totems Are Shown to the Young Men

1. The lower totems are shown the youths by lines of dancing men.

1. The women give the men palm food so that the leader can feed all the men. He informs the men that they will wait to eat until they go back inside the men's ceremonial ground. They return to the dance ground and once more take their totemic emblems out of the "bush house" or from the hollow trees used as a hiding place. All the men stick red parrot feathers on their chins with honeybees' wax. Red ocher is painted on the face. The leader says, "Are you prepared now?"

"Yes," they say.

"Are all the totemic emblems here?"

"Yes; what are we going to do now?"

"Let the young men who have beards and moustaches move."

Everything is very quiet now and there is no laughter. There must not be any laughter. A bird called a djunmal (possibly a curlew) is danced by one of the men in the Narra dance ground. He represents the tide coming in. Another bird called the ka-url-dal-por-al (a variety of the kingfisher) dances with him. The djunmal climbs a tree and the kookaburra (kingfisher) another nearby. The djunmal emits the cry of this bird, which means that the tide is coming in; the natives believe the djunmal sings just before the tide comes in. A line of old men dance forward. Their backs and necks are bowed; their eyes look down to the upturned palms of their two hands, in which they carry their totemic emblems. The kookaburra now sings that the tide is going out, when the men turn and retrace their steps. Thus the old men dance back and forth, as the tide is high and then low, high and then low, while the two birds sing alternately with the dancers' change of direction.

Native Interpretation.—The Dua Narra rangas were all brought by the Djunkgao women. The Yiritja rangas have the integrating factor of the spring floods and tides. "All the Yiritja rangas were brought by the flood and tides. The big rain made that big flood."

(The beards, too, emphasize the manliness of the young men in an

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

the messengers are gone (Section E), are once again symbolic of the swallowing.

The kartdjur (F) although it indirectly symbolizes the swallowing, is more concerned with the reproductive and seasonal cycle, with the animals' departure from the women and entrance into the python's pool. The rituals (G) surrounding the Yermerlindi totemic emblems symbolize the arrival of the snake and the swallowing of the women. The ceremonial exchange of wives (H) symbolizes the reproductive and seasonal cycle.

The ceremony centered around the forked sticks and ridgepole (I) is again the swallowing symbol. A minor symbol, however, is injected in this section: the flying fox, a symbol of death. He is considered a mokoi or trickster soul, personified by the young boys who hang on the rafter of the two old women and who are spiritually dead because they are yet to be completely initiated. They take food from the snake—the line of men seated on the ground by the ridgepole; they join on to the male body of the snake by seating themselves in the row of men, which symbolizes their becoming a part of the higher age grade of men.

The final section (J) is not symbolic from the myth point of view except that the two women went through a similar performance of painting with red ocher.

Sections A through E, as well as G and I, all symbolize the snake's swallowing the women. The last section (J) is merely a ritual mechanism to relate the dancers once again in a normal way to their ordinary society and to prevent any harm coming to them from having been in touch with the sacred Gunabibi. Sections F and H, as well as, secondarily, part of C and of E, depict the cycle of fertility as expressed in reproduction, seasonal fluctuation, and periods of plenty and scarcity; and these again are directly expressed in the animals and plants starting out singly, then mating, copulating, and having offspring at wet seasons of the year. Briefly stated, the snake-swallowing-the-women symbol dominates the greater part of the Gunabibi; another major theme is introduced which is concerned with the cycle of reproduction; and minor themes of naming the plants and animals and of their running away are introduced (see final summary of the four great ceremonies below).

Ulmark

In the first section the four kangaroos' running away symbolizes the

1: Warner . E -5 (1926-1929)1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

884 773 animals who ran away from the women; the men who take off thei clothes and shave represent men who are thin from going through : rainy season of scarcity. The snake is introduced, and the women try to stop him and the rain.

In the second section Uvar is made; its drumbeat is the voice of the snake; the women try to stop the snake from swallowing them.

The triangular dance ground in the third section has the same functions as that in the Djungguan and symbolizes the snake after he has swallowed the two women. In the fourth section (D), the swallowing of the Torres Straits pigeon corresponds to the snake swallowing the animals in the Djungguan dances.

The symbolism is less clear in the stone spear-head dance of Section E, but an analysis of Murngin thinking shows the stone spear head to be associated with the snake: it is the circumcision and the fighting and hunting instrument, and is associated generally with male pursuits. —The women dance to stop the snake.

In Section F the headdress or group dance shows considerable evidence that the groups are possibly classed as snakes (as caterpillars and snails explicitly are by the natives); but even though they do not specifically represent the snake, their dances again were danced by the Wawilak women in the myth to stop the snake from coming.

The ritual paraphernalia constructed in the seventh section (G), including the sunken triangular dance ground, the winding path around the men's ground, and the snail-shell rattle, are all symbolical of the snake; and the women's dance ground and ceremonial house represent the places where the Wawilak women danced and sang to prevent the snake from swallowing them. The kangaroo tail is associated with kangaroos who are the same as the Yiritja snakes in the Gunabibi.—The women have been swallowed by the snake in some of the elements of this section.

The snail-shell rattle dance (Section H) is Muit coming for the women. The dances performed in the ninth section (I) are repetitions of earlier dances in which the snake has swallowed or is about to swallow the women and animals.

The grub-dance sequence in Section J is a repetition in meaning of the grub-dance sequence in Section F, and also identifies explicitly the initiates with the two Wawilak women and their children. The dances performed while the feuds are being settled (Section K) are repetitions of the earlier ones which symbolized the Wawilak women fighting to keep the snake from swallowing them, and of those which symbolized the actual swallowing.

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

The spear, bark cylinder, yam, and fire dances (Section L) are Muit. The men are Wawilak women and when burned by the fire are being consumed by the snake (a cleansing ceremony).

The frilled-neck (big-eared) lizard of Section M is one of the animals who runs away from the women's impurity into the well of the snake. In Section N the flying-fox (associated as in the Gunabibi with the trickster soul of the dead) and snake dances are performed by the neophytes; their going into the well means the snake swallows them (and purifies them or makes them alive spiritually). The fire that encircles the camp in Section O is the Wawilak women's fire, but is also the snake and the snake's path around the camp. The communal bathing (immersion) in this section symbolizes Muit swallowing the women, and is supposed "to make the people clean and new."

In the forked-pole dance and gray-stone kangaroo dance of Section P the animals again are symbolized as running away from the women; but when the dancers get on the forked stick, they are Muit surrounding the house of the women. Q symbolizes the snake swallowing the women.

In Section R fire is again used as a snake symbol and swallows the kangaroos; and the initiation of the neophytes is symbolized by the kangaroo and flying-fox dancers entering the well. Section S is a repetition of the earlier forked-pole dance (P). In Section T, when in the stone-fire and snake dance the men inhale the smoke, "it means just the same as the Gunabibi when the men go along the ridgepole and get food handed to them" (see Section I, the Gunabibi, page 308).

In the last section, U, the palm-nut bread, spiritualized by virtue of being in the ritual, is eaten by the men as a communion, and they are purified with the burning and smoking leaves of the ironwood. (In the mortuary rites smoking leaves and branches are used to chase away unclean spirits of the newly dead or to remove generally any unclean thing.) This section parallels the Djungguan steaming rite.

To summarize, nine sections of the Ulmark are associated largely with the symbol of the snake swallowing the women: B, C, D, G, H, I, N, Q, R, and T. Five sections, E, F, J, K, and L enact part of the above symbol: they are concerned with the women trying to prevent the snake from swallowing them. Three—O, P, and S—are partly associated with the swallowing. Five—A, M, O, P, and S—either primarily or secondarily symbolize the animals running away from the unclean women into the well. One (U) is a communal eating ritual which symbolizes the unity of the group.

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

Marndiella

852 773 The Marndiella symbolism, like the ceremony itself, is unelaborated. The first section is concerned merely with preparing the boys by ceremonially dressing them like women for the important reason of identifying them with the women's social group. The bloodletting of Section B (found in full detail in the corresponding section of the Djungguan) ritualizes the profanation of the pool and the swallowing of the women by the snake. The flying-fox motif of the spiritually dead brought to life by the ritual is indirectly referred to.

The women's mat dance (Section C) identifies the initiate with the two Wawilak women, and covering him with the ainmara (woman's mat) symbolizes his place in the age grading. In this section we also find the snake swallowing the women.

The dog dance of Section D is one of the most difficult to interpret fully. The dog smelling the initiates means they are "all the same as animals and he is going to catch them." (Dog is best understood in the several myths in which he becomes a symbol of black men generally and therefore of the male group.) The significant fact here is that the boys are symbolical of ritually unclean food.

The blood-smeared, torch-bearing line of men of the fifth section, E, are snakes, and dance around the Wawilak women to symbolize swallowing them. In the last section, F, the initiates are circumcised and steamed exactly as in the Djungguan, and the same symbolism holds here.

852 884 The analyses of the four ceremonies show that in addition to the fundamental snake-swallowing-the-women symbol, the Gunabibi brings in also the reproductive cycle and seeing-and-naming-the-food-animals symbols. The Ulmark adds the animals-running-away-from-the-unclean-women symbol. The concluding segments of the Marndiella, Djungguan, and Ulmark bring in a communion, as does the Gunabibi in the flying-fox episode; the communion in the first three seems fairly separate from the general myth-symbols, but in the Gunabibi is part of the snake ideology.

182 852 884 773 *Summary of the Ritual Logics of the Wawilak Configuration*[1]

If we let

M stand for myth

[1] This same procedure could be followed for the other sections and subsections of the myth, including the women naming the animals and the coming from the south, also the animals running away from the women.

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

182
852
884
113

B for the section of the myth in which the python swallows the women
C for ceremony
D for Djungguan
G for Gunabibi
U for Ulmark
M for Marndiella

and allow lower-case letters corresponding with upper-case letters of the sections to stand for those sections, we can say

$$M_B = C_D(a \ldots g), C_G(a \ldots e, g \ldots i), C_U(b \ldots i, p \ldots t), C_M(c, e \ldots f).$$

The ideology of the first section of the Wawilak myth (M_A)—the coming of the two sisters from the southern interior and the flight of the food animals—although latent in a great number of the sections, appears explicitly only in G(c), G(e, f) and in U(a, c, i, m, o, p). Omission of symbolical relation of certain sections to the myth is due to lack of material.

Obviously the testimony of the natives itself has manifest in its content a great amount of interpretative material which most emphatically demonstrates that the Wawilak myth is no meaningless tale concerned with a purely mythological history of the aboriginal peoples of the area; and this evidence again proves that the dances performed have a deeper significance to the natives' own consciousness than mere aesthetic expressions or religious formulae. All four of the rituals definitely are related to the fundamental Wawilak myth and have their symbolic point of reference there. Each of the dance and song elements refers to a myth-symbol found within the Wawilak dramatic story. The Wawilak myth-rituals are, speaking generally, sacred dramas in which the mysteries of life are enacted. The same is true for the Djunkgao myths and Narra rituals; but rather than confuse our thinking by dealing with too many variables at one time, we shall postpone our interpretation of the Narra rituals until we deal further with the Wawilak story. Since the Djungguan, Gunabibi, Ulmark and Marndiella are the most important rituals, and since in them the one symbol of the snake-swallowing-the-women seems to dominate all the others, the core of our problem of meaning lies here, and we shall give it our first attention.

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

no other ornamentation upon it. The red ocher is not only for decoration, but it adds spirit "power" to the receptacle.

East of the Goyder River the bag is used exclusively by the medicine man, whose spirit helpers reside in it. West of the Goyder River it is also worn by anyone who so desires for good luck in hunting. Here also it is held in the teeth during a fight to add magical powers and bravery to the fighter.

Fighting "Tie."—Sometimes a "tie" is carried in the mouth to gain power during a fight. The tie is made by the same technique as the spirit bag. It is made of coarse vegetable fiber string, is flat, about eighteen inches long and three inches wide, and has a fiber string handle which allows the owner to wear it around his neck when not in use. It has ornamental value, although it is never decorated except with alternating bands of dark and light fiber.

The netting stitch is not used in the making of bags or the tie in this area as it is in Queensland.

Forehead Bands.—This article of ornamentation is made of small thread-like string with a mesh that is a sixteenth of an inch in diameter. Its length and width correspond to the size of the wearer's forehead. It is worn only by males. Each end of the band has a string attached to it for tying at the back of the head. The bands are used in the Gunabibi, Ulmark, and Djungguan ceremonies. They are covered with a solid layer of white pipe clay or red ocher. Sometimes bands are made of paper bark tied with fiber string and painted with red ocher or white clay.

Women's and Children's "Harness."—This curious body ornament used by women and small children looks, when worn, much like a harness used for hitching horses to a carriage. It is composed of one continuous strand of twelve to eighteen strings of two-ply vegetable fiber. The string is formed into two large equal loops which are joined by wrapping with fiber string for a distance of about ten inches. Each loop is then wrapped separately for from two to five inches from both sides of the joint. The wrapped sections are usually painted with alternating white and red or yellow and red bands of paint. The unwrapped string frequently is covered with red ocher.

Women and children wear the harness during ceremonies. The wrapped portion falls down the middle of the back; the arms are slipped through the loops which are made to cross below the breast.

Bugle-grass Necklace.—The bright straw-yellow bugle grass is cut into small beads about one-half inch in length and strung on a thin vegetable fiber string. The string is then looped back and forth to form about eighteen lengths of ten inches each. To each of the two ends of the bunch of loops is attached a single fiber string. The beads are worn against the throat by tying the fiber strings at the back of the wearer's neck. Men, women, and children wear these ornaments. The bright yellow is particularly effective in contrast with the gleaming black skin of the aborigines.